

Message Text

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S/S - MR. LUERS

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 240523

EXDIS - TOSEC 486

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: BRIEFING PAPER - THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH
ARGENTINE FOREIGN MINISTER VIGNES

FOLLOWING IS BRIEFING PAPER FOR SECRETARY'S BILATERAL
MEETING WITH ARGENTINE FOREIGN MINISTER VIGNES AT
9:30 A.M., NOVEMBER 5 IN ROME:

ARGENTINA

NOVEMBER 5, 9:30 A.M. - EXCELSIOR HOTEL, ROME

PARTICIPANTS:

US

THE SECRETARY

JOSE DE SEABRA (INTERPRETER)

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ARGENTINA

FOREIGN MINISTER ALBERTO VIGNES

PHONETIC: VEEN-YES

ADDRESSED: MR. MINISTER

LANGUAGE: SPANISH/ENGLISH

CHECKLIST:

BUENOS AIRES MFM - STRESS OUR HOPE FOR POSITIVE RESULTS AT THE MFM BASED ON A LIMITED NUMBER OF CONCRETE AGENDA TOPICS. WE ARE PARTICULARLY EAGER TO HEAR ARGENTINE PLANS AND SUGGESTIONS.

U.S. COMPANIES IN ARGENTINA - STRESS OUR HOPE THAT APPROPRIATE GOA OFFICIALS WILL GIVE FULL CONSIDERATION TO WHAT WE UNDERSTAND ARE SERIOUS PROBLEMS NOW FACED BY SEVERAL U.S.-OWNED COMPANIES IN ARGENTINA.

KHMER REPRESENTATION - STRESS THAT THE PROCEDURAL VOTE ON THE QUESTION OF WHICH DRAFT RESOLUTION ON KHMER REPRESENTATION IS TO BE CONSIDERED FIRST APPEARS CRUCIAL. YOU HOPE ARGENTINA CAN SUPPORT VOTING PRIORITY FOR THE ASEAN DRAFT RESOLUTION WE BOTH FAVOR.

SETTING

YOU RECEIVED VIGNES ON SEPTEMBER 16 AND INTRODUCED HIM TO PRESIDENT FORD AT THE WHITE HOUSE ON SEPTEMBER 21.

HIS PRINCIPAL INTERESTS WILL BE 1) TO RETAIN A LEADERSHIP ROLE FOR ARGENTINA IN THE HANDLING OF THE CUBAN ISSUE; AND 2) TO DISCUSS THE BASIC GOALS TO BE SOUGHT AT AND A POSSIBLE AGENDA FOR THE BUENOS AIRES MFM IN MARCH 1975.

OUR OBJECTIVES ARE TO ENLIST ARGENTINA'S COOPERATION FOR OUR CUBAN STRATEGY AND TO WORK WITH THE GOA TO MAKE THE BUENOS AIRES MFM A FRUITFUL ONE.

SINCE YOU LAST MET WITH VIGNES BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH ARGENTINA HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY GOOD. THE RECEPTION VIGNES RECEIVED IN WASHINGTON WAS GIVEN BROAD AND HIGHLY FAVORABLE COVERAGE IN THE ARGENTINE MEDIA. ARGENTINA HAS CONFIDENTIAL

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RECENTLY DEMONSTRATED FLEXIBILITY AND A WILLINGNESS TO SOLVE POTENTIAL BILATERAL PROBLEMS ON A PRAGMATIC BASIS IN ITS EFFORTS TO WORK OUT A SYSTEM FOR MARKETING SHOE EXPORTS WHICH WOULD AVOID THE IMPOSITION OF A U.S. COUNTERVAILING DUTY ON ARGENTINE SHOES. HOWEVER, MANY ARGENTINE SUBSIDIARIES OF LEADING U.S. COMPANIES ARE CURRENTLY EXPERIENCING SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES.

COURTESY POINTS

--I REGRET THAT NEITHER OF US IS ABLE TO ATTEND THE OAS

ISSUES/TALKING POINTS

THE BUENOS AIRES MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS (MFM),

MARCH 1974.

U.S. POSITION:WE BELIEVE THE BUENOS AIRES MEETING SHOULD AIM FOR APPROVAL BY THE MINISTERS OF ACTION PROGRAMS GROWING OUT OF SOME OF THE OBJECTIVES AGREED TO AT THE MEXICO AND WASHINGTON MFMS. WE ARE HOPING FOR A BUSINESS-LIKE MEETING WHICH WILL FOCUS ON A FEW CONCRETE ISSUES WHERE PROGRESS HAS BEEN OR CAN BE MADE. WE HOPE TO OBTAIN ARGENTINE AGREEMENT ON THIS GENERAL APPROACH. WE HAVE THE FOLLOWING AGENDA TOPICS IN MIND:

TRADE - ASSUMING PASSAGE OF THE TRADE BILL WHEN CONGRESS RECONVENES WE SHOULD BE IN A POSITION AT BUENOS AIRES TO TELL THE LATIN AMERICANS WHAT WE ARE PREPARED TO DO WITH THEM IN THE TRADE FIELD.

REVITALIZATION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM - WE ARE SEEKING MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION AND AGREEMENT ON HOW TO RESTRUCTURE THE OAS AND HOW (OR IF) WE SHOULD LINK ITS ACTIVITIES TO THE MEETINGS OF FOREIGN MINISTERS. WHILE THE STRUCTURE OF THE OAS IS NOT IN ITSELF IMPORTANT, THE ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS ARE SYMBOLIC OF THE UNDERLYING ISSUES IN U.S.-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS. IF AFTER TWO YEARS OF DISCUSSION, THE OAS REMAINS VIRTUALLY UNCHANGED IT WILL SIGNIFY A FAILURE OF CREATIVITY IN INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY - GIVEN THE LATIN AMERICAN INTEREST
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IN THIS AREA, WE SEE THIS SUBJECT AS A KEY ITEM FOR BUENOS AIRES. THE FOUR SUB-GROUPS ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY HAVE IDENTIFIED SOME ISSUES AND COME UP WITH SEVERAL USEFUL IDEAS. SUB-GROUP IV ON FUNDING AND INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS HAS NOT YET COMPLETED ITS WORK AND WE REGARD THIS AS THE KEY GROUP IN PROPOSING WAYS AND MEANS TO IMPLEMENT SPECIFIC PROGRAMS. THE WORKING GROUP WILL EXAMINE THESE AT ITS MEETING IN JANUARY AND WILL AIM AT AN AGREED PACKAGE OF MEASURES TO PRESENT TO MINISTERS AT THE MARCH MEETING. FOR ITS PART, THE U.S. IS NOW EXAMINING POSSIBLE STEPS IT MIGHT TAKE TO IMPROVE THE FLOW OF SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION AND TECHNOLOGY WITHIN THE HEMISPHERE.

TRANSNATIONAL ENTERPRISES - THE WORKING GROUP ON TRANSNATIONAL ENTERPRISES WILL RESUME ITS WORK IN NOVEMBER. U.S. CORPORATIONS. WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DIRECT THE

ATTENTION OF THE WORKING GROUP TO THE NEED FOR INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION TO RESOLVE FOREIGN INVESTMENT PROBLEMS. WE ARE WORKING TOWARD AGREEMENT ON A FEW BASIC PRINCIPLES BY THE TIME OF THE BUENOS AIRES MEETING.

WE EXPECT TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT AND OTHERS ON THESE AGENDA TOPICS IN THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS IN ORDER TO REACH AS COMPLETE AGREEMENT AS POSSIBLE BEFORE THE MARCH MEETING. IF THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS OTHER TOPICS IN MIND FOR THE AGENDA WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THEM -- PREFERABLY AT AN EARLY DATE.

WE HOPE THAT SUFFICIENT PROGRESS ON OTHER ISSUES, E.G., CUBA AND THE PANAMA CANAL NEGOTIATIONS, WILL HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEFORE THE MEETING SO THAT THEY NEED NOT FIGURE PROMINENTLY AT BUENOS AIRES. WE HAVE FOUND THAT THE PROBLEMS OF "ECONOMIC COERCION" AND "COLLECTIVE ECONOMIC SECURITY" ON WHICH PERU, WITH THE SUPPORT OF A FEW OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES, IS PRESSING FOR U.S. AGREEMENT DO NOT APPEAR TO BE HEADING TOWARD ANY CONSTRUCTIVE RESOLUTION. WE MAY HAVE TO TAKE A TOUGH STAND ON COLLECTIVE ECONOMIC SECURITY -- AS PERCEIVED BY THE PERUVIANS -- BUT WE WILL NEED TO COMPLEMENT THAT WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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POSITIVE APPROACHES TO TRADE, TECHNOLOGY, ETC.

ARGENTINE POSITION: AT THE OFFICIAL LEVEL THE ARGENTINES HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY HOPE FOR CONSTRUCTIVE RESULTS AT THE MFM. THEY HAVE THEMSELVES SUGGESTED THE DESIRABILITY OF PRIOR BILATERAL CONSULTATION AND EXPRESSED THEIR PREFERENCE FOR A MORE LIMITED AGENDA CENTERED ON A FEW CONCRETE SUBJECTS. THEY APPEAR DOUBTFUL, HOWEVER, THAT ANY OF THE WORK CURRENTLY IN PROGRESS IN OAS FORA OR UNDER THE WORKING GROUPS WILL HAVE ADVANCED TO A POINT MERITING MINISTERIAL BLESSING AND FEEL, THEREFORE, THAT WE SHOULD BE THINKING OF NEW SUBJECTS FOR THE AGENDA. THEY HAVE NOT SPECIFIED THESE, HOWEVER.

FOREIGN MINISTER VIGNES WILL VERY LIKELY RAISE THE QUESTION OF CUBAN ATTENDANCE AT THE MEETING.

TALKING POINTS

1. WE HOPE FOR POSITIVE RESULTS BASED ON A LIMITED NUMBER OF CONCRETE AGENDA TOPICS.
2. WE THINK ENOUGH PROGRESS HAS BEEN OR CAN BE REGISTERED IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS TO PERMIT AGREEMENT BY MINISTERS:

--TRADE

--REVITALIZATION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM

--SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS

--GUIDELINES FOR TRANSNATIONAL ENTERPRISES

3. WE HOPE TO CONTINUE CONSULTING CLOSELY WITH THE ARGENTINES AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS ON THE AGENDA.

4. DOES THE MINISTER ENVISAGE USING THE SAME AGENDA AND FORMAT AS AT TLATELOLCO AND WASHINGTON BUT FOCUSING ON A FEW ACTIONABLE ITEMS OR DOES HE HAVE SOME OTHER APPROACH IN MIND?

5. (IF CUBAN ATTENDANCE IS RAISED) WON'T CUBAN ATTENDANCE TEND TO PRODUCE ACRIMONY AND CONFRONTATION AND ENDANGER THE SUCCESS OF THE MEETING?

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OAS CUBA SANCTIONS

U.S. POSITION: THE U.S. BELIEVES THE OAS SANCTIONS AGAINST CUBA HAVE BECOME A LIABILITY IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE REST OF LATIN AMERICA BECAUSE:

--A MAJORITY NOW OPPOSE THEM.

--A NUMBER OF STATES HAVE IGNORED THE RIO TREATY TO RENEW RELATIONS WITH CUBA UNILATERALLY AND TWO OTHER MAJOR NATIONS, VENEZUELA AND COLOMBIA, WILL DO SO IF THE SANCTIONS ARE NOT LIFTED.

--THE SANCTIONS NO LONGER SERVE TO ISOLATE CUBA BUT RATHER TO COMPLICATE U.S. RELATIONS WITH MAJOR LATIN COUNTRIES.

--THE CONCENTRATION ON THE SANCTIONS ISSUE PREVENTS LATIN AMERICA AND THE U.S. FROM COMING TO GRIPS WITH THE REAL ISSUES OF INTERDEPENDENCE IN THIS DECADE.

WE DO NOT WISH, HOWEVER, TO SIGNAL WHAT MIGHT BE INTERPRETED AS ABSOLUTION OF CASTRO, OR TO INDICATE THAT THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO RESUME A NORMAL BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH CUBA. THE U.S. PLANS TO ABSTAIN ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION AT QUITO UNLESS THE RESOLUTION AS IT EMERGES IS UNACCEPTABLE. (AT WRITING, THE CO-SPONSORS HAVE A CLEAR MAJORITY, BUT APPARENTLY FALL SHORT BY ONE VOTE OF THE TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY (14) REQUIRED BY THE RIO TREATY.)

ARGENTINE POSITION: THE ARGENTINES IMMEDIATELY RENEWED RELATIONS WITH CUBA UPON THE ACCESSION OF A PERONIST GOVERNMENT. THEY WILL SUPPORT A RESOLUTION LIFTING THE SANCTIONS, SO LONG AS THE RESOLUTION DOES NOT APPEAR TO IMPLY THAT COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE ALREADY RENEWED RELATIONS DID SO IN VIOLATION OF THE TREATY. VIGNES WILL ARGUE THAT THE U.S. SHOULD VOTE FOR THE RESOLUTION.

TALKING POINTS

--I KNOW WE HAVE BOTH FELT IT PREMATURE TO MOVE ON CUBA, EVEN IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OAS SANCTIONS.

--BUT THE CO-SPONSORS WERE SO EAGER TO RESOLVE THIS ISSUE THAT WE AGREED, IN THE INTEREST OF HARMONY, TO SUPPORT HOLDING A MEETING IN QUITO.

--NOW IT LOOKS AS IF THEY HAVE A MAJORITY, BUT MAY FALL

SHORT OF THE 14 VOTES REQUIRED BY THE RIO TREATY.

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--SOME OF THESE COUNTRIES ARE PRESSURING US TO VOTE FOR THE RESOLUTION IN ORDER TO ASSURE THE 14 VOTES. MY OWN INCLINATION IS TO ABSTAIN, BECAUSE I DO NOT WANT TO GIVE A MISLEADING SIGNAL ABOUT OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD CUBA. --I TELL YOU FRANKLY THAT WE WELCOME THESE SMALL SIGNS OF CHANGE ON THE PART OF THE CUBANS, BUT DO NOT SEE THAT THEY HAVE ABANDONED, EVEN TACITLY, THEIR SUPPOSED RIGHT TO PUSH REVOLUTION IN COUNTRIES OF THEIR CHOOSING. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES AN ABSTENTION WOULD BE THE PROPER SIGNAL FROM THE U.S.

SITUATION OF U.S. COMPANIES IN ARGENTINA.

U.S. POSITION: MANY ARGENTINE SUBSIDIARIES OF LEADING U.S. COMPANIES ARE EXPERIENCING SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES. THE GOA'S PRICE CONTROL POLICY, THE NEW FOREIGN INVESTMENT LAW, AND THE LAW OF SUPPLY HAVE OBLIGED SEVERAL COMPANIES TO OPERATE AT A SEVERE LOSS IN RECENT MONTHS (GENERAL MOTORS AND CHRYSLER). OTHER US-OWNED CONCERNS ARE ENGAGED IN SPECIFIC INVESTMENT DISPUTES INVOLVING EXPROPRIATION OR BANKRUPTCY (EXXON, ITT, AND DELTEC). REPRESENTATIVES OF THESE COMPANIES HAVE REQUESTED THE USG TO USE ITS GOOD OFFICES IN MAKING KNOWN TO THE GOA OUR CONCERN OVER THEIR PLIGHTS. AMBASSADOR HILL HAS DONE THIS TWICE WITH ARGENTINE UNDERSECRETARY OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS BECKMANN, AND WE HAVE CONVEYED A SIMILAR MESSAGE TO AMBASSADOR ORFILA IN WASHINGTON.

ARGENTINE POSITION: THE GOA APPEARS DISPOSED TO SEEK SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS WHICH THREATEN THE GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONS WHICH NOW EXIST. IN THIS CASE, HOWEVER, ITS FREEDOM OF ACTION IS LIMITED BY STRONG PUBLIC SUPPORT IN

ARGENTINA FOR MEASURES WHICH ADVERSELY AFFECT FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN GENERAL, AND BY THE SEEMING LACK OF COMPREHENSION ON THE PART OF THE POWERFUL LABOR UNIONS OF THE GRAVITY OF THE PLIGHT FACED BY MANY COMPANIES. THE NEW MINISTER OF ECONOMY, ALFREDO GOMEZ MORALES, IS CONSIDERED A MORE RESPONSIBLE ECONOMIST THAN HIS PREDECESSOR, JOSE GELBARD, AND MAY BE MORE SYMPATHETIC TO THE LEGITIMATE GRIEVANCES OF FOREIGN INVESTORS.

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TALKING POINTS

--THE PROBLEMS OF THE AMERICAN COMPANIES IN ARGENTINA ARE COMPLEX AND DELICATE MATTERS WITH WHICH THE USG WOULD PREFER NOT TO BECOME OVERLY INVOLVED. HOWEVER, THERE

HAS BEEN A CONFLUENCE OF CIRCUMSTANCES AND EVENTS IN RECENT MONTHS WHICH HAS PRODUCED INTENSE CONCERN IN THE UNITED STATES ABOUT THE VIABILITY OF CERTAIN INVESTMENTS IN ARGENTINA, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF SEVERAL MAJOR U.S. CORPORATIONS HAVE REQUESTED THAT THE USG USE ITS GOOD OFFICES TO UNDERSCORE THEIR CONCERNS.

--WE FULLY UNDERSTAND THAT IT IS FOR ARGENTINA ALONE TO REGULATE FOREIGN BUSINESS ACTIVITIES WITHIN ARGENTINA. OUR PRIMARY OBJECTIVE IS TO ASSURE THAT U.S.-OWNED FIRMS ARE TREATED EQUITABLY, AND THAT INVESTMENT RELATED PROBLEMS DO NOT ADVERSELY AFFECT THE FRIENDLY AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP OUR COUNTRIES ENJOY.

--THE NATURE OF THE DIFFICULTIES THESE COMPANIES FACE IS VARIED. IN MANY CASES COMPANIES HAVE SUSTAINED AND ARE SUSTAINING SERIOUS LOSSES RESULTING PRIMARILY FROM WHAT THEY REGARD AS UNREALISTIC PRICE LEVELS ESTABLISHED SINCE JUNE 1973. U.S. COMPANIES IN ONE INDUSTRY (PETROLEUM) ARE CONCERNED ABOUT A RECENT DECREE NATIONALIZING A PORTION OF THEIR OPERATION BUT MAKING NO MENTION OF COMPENSATION. AND THERE ARE COMPANIES WITH PROBLEMS WHICH ARE SUI GENERIS BUT IN WHICH WE ARE ALSO INTERESTED.

--WE WOULD PREFER NOT TO INITIATE DISCUSSION OF THE RELATIVE MERITS OF THE CONTENDING POSITIONS IN THE VARIOUS OUTSTANDING CASES INVOLVING U.S. COMPANIES. WE DO HOPE, THOUGH, THAT THE APPROPRIATE GOA OFFICIALS WILL HAVE TIME TO RECEIVE THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THESE DIFFERENT COMPANIES AND LISTEN TO THEM WITH A VIEW TO WORKING OUT THE NECESSARY SOLUTIONS.

--SHOULD THE GOA DETERMINE IN A GIVEN INSTANCE, OR INSTANCES, THAT IT IS IN ITS BEST INTEREST TO NATIONALIZE U.S. PROPERTIES, WE WOULD, OF COURSE, EXPECT THE GOA TO FOLLOW GENERALLY ACCEPTED PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW REGARDING COMPENSATION.

KHMER REPRESENTATION
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U.S. POSITION: AT THE REQUEST OF ASEAN AND OTHER CO-SPONSORS, AND IN COLLABORATION WITH THEM, WE ARE WORKING HARD TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR THE FRIENDLY DRAFT RESOLUTION AND VOTING PRIORITY FOR IT. THE LATTER IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT, SINCE THE PRO-SIHANOUK DRAFT RESOLUTION NOW HAS VOTING PRIORITY AND CO-SPONSORS OF THE FRIENDLY DRAFT RESOLUTION MUST ASK THE 29TH GA PLENARY TO GIVE IT PRIORITY AND WIN A VOTE IN THIS RESPECT.

ARGENTINE POSITION: ARGENTINA WILL SUPPORT THE FRIENDLY DRAFT RESOLUTION CO-SPONSORED BY ASEAN NATIONS AND OTHERS, AND STRONGLY SUPPORTED BY THE U.S. FOREIGN MINISTER VIGNES INFORMED YOU OF THIS IN HIS OCTOBER 15

REPLY TO YOUR LETTER OF OCTOBER 8. HIS LETTER SAID NOTHING ABOUT SUPPORT ON VOTING PRIORITY FOR THE FRIENDLY DRAFT RESOLUTION, HOWEVER, AND THERE ARE INDICATIONS ARGENTINA MAY ABSTAIN ON THIS CRUCIAL PROCEDURAL VOTE. YOU SENT VIGNES A NOTE ON OCTOBER 26, THANKING HIM FOR ARGENTINA'S EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT.

TALKING POINTS

--I APPRECIATE THE CONSIDERATION YOU HAVE GIVEN THE KHMER ISSUE, AND AM PLEASED THAT ARGENTINA WILL SUPPORT THE DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY ASEAN NATIONS AND OTHERS.

--PASSAGE OF THE ASEAN DRAFT RESOLUTION IS VITALLY IMPORTANT TO HOPES FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE CAMBODIAN DISPUTE.

--VOTING PRIORITY FOR THIS RESOLUTION IS EQUALLY IMPORTANT TO ENABLE IT TO BE BROUGHT TO A VOTE PRIOR TO THE PRO-SIHANOUK RESOLUTION WHICH SAYS NOTHING ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS AND SEEKS MERELY TO OUST THE KHMER REPUBLIC IN FAVOR OF SIHANOUK.

--I HOPE YOU CAN INSTRUCT YOUR UN DELEGATION TO SUPPORT VOTING PRIORITY FOR THE ASEAN DRAFT RESOLUTION. INGERSOLL

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